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REPORT OF THE STATE OF COMMUNIST SUBVERSION
IN THE MIDDLE EAST AREA

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AMONG STUDENTS

US SUBMISSION

1. Introduction

The following report is the US submission for a special report on Communist subversion among students, prepared for the Liaison Committee meeting to be held in London in July, 1958, in accordance with the request of the Liaison Committee embodied in its report to the Council of January 21, 1958 (BP/C/4/D3). It sets forth the major techniques employed by Communists to influence students. It also describes some of the major programs currently employed in the subversion of students with particular reference to the Middle East area.

2. Communist Objectives and Methods for Influencing Students and Their Organizations

In spite of Communist doctrines emphasizing the key role of the working class, student groups have consistently proved important sources of cadre members and leaders for national Communist Parties. This has been of particular importance in countries where educated persons enjoy high prestige and are in demand for staffing newly created or expanding governmental and commercial organizations.

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In addition to seeking to influence their own nationals, some future Communist Parties, such as the French Party, have long maintained special units for working among foreign resident students. Four general techniques are used by the Communists in work among students:

- a. Selection, recruitment into the Party and careful indoctrination of individual students.
- b. Creation of Party-inspired, controlled student organizations useful both as agitational instruments and as ground for development of Party members.
- c. Infiltration of existing student groups by individual Party members.
- d. Use of existing Party assets--both infiltrated and controlled groups--in unity campaigns to enlist the support and cooperation of student groups.

A Communist Party in its formative stage usually concentrates heavily upon the first of these techniques. The other techniques were, prior to World War II, usually alternative. During periods when Party policy concentrated upon a popular front strategy, the infiltration of student groups and the promotion of mergers of leftist student organizations comprise the major effort. During periods of open and aggressive Party action, the splitting of student groups, seizure of effective control of infiltrated bodies, and the close identification of such bodies with the Communist Party,

In some instances Communist Parties have employed all techniques simultaneously, but at all times the creation of new cadres from among students remains a basic objective of the Party.

It is significant to observe that the current leadership of most of the Communist Parties of the Middle East area includes a very large number of persons who first became involved in Communist Party activity during their student days. In some instances these relationships--as in the case of Khalid Balkash, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Syria, and of top leaders of the Iranian Tudeh Party--were established twenty-five years ago while the individuals in question were studying abroad. In other instances--as in Egypt and the Sudan--this entire creation process did not begin in earnest until after World War II and took place in local universities, where foreign Communists such as Henri Curiel of Italy and others undertook the task of secretly enlisting and indoctrinating student cadres.

It is also important to recall that much of this early activity among students was carried out illegally. On the basis of precedents elsewhere and exposed cases in the Middle East, it is reasonable to assume that a proportion of the students enlisted by the Communist movement, particularly during the period 1927-1936 and the period

1947-1954, were initially encouraged to conceal or obscure their Party affiliation. In certain cases promising individuals entering the professions and governmental service have been recognized as unique assets both by Communist Parties and by Bloc intelligence, and have been used as sources of political and military intelligence, including the penetration of anti-Communist security and intelligence services. In other instances such individuals have become prominent and ostensibly non-Communist figures in political parties and front organizations.

III. The Current Program of Communist Subversion of Students in the Middle East Area

As a result of the general unity of action campaign launched in 1944-45, the International Communist Movement entered upon its current period of subversive activity among students armed with an additional weapon--the Communist Front International Union of Students (IUS). Together with its close associate the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), this body has assumed a major responsibility for subversive activity in the Middle East. While the organization achieved no success in its appeal to youth prior to 1956, the converts and sympathizers from the areas that it did manage to enlist, train, and develop during the earlier years of its existence are now obtaining prominence in responsible positions in the Party and Fronts, and are advancing the appeal and effectiveness of Communist programs. The front tends to give effective support to the youth programs of local

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Communist Parties whose reputation and past performance are such that their programs would otherwise prove abortive.

The current IUS campaign involves four main lines of action:

- a. Enhancing programs of activities specifically designed to appeal to Arab nationalist students.
- b. Provision of financial and other aid to students of the Middle East.
- c. Endorsement and international support of selected activities undertaken by local student organizations.
- d. Participation in "non-political" unity of action programs with students from the Middle East area at all possible levels and with all student bodies willing to accept such contacts, in the area of Soviet Bloc student organizations and of the more effective IUS national affiliates in the Free World.

IV. The Appeal to Arab Nationalist Students

The IUS and the WSW are enhancing their appeal to area pride and nationalism by giving responsible posts, expanded duties, and well-publicized official representative assignments to area nationals.

Increased Use of Area Nationals

In mid-1957, Samir Mohamed, a 26-year old Iraqi was appointed the Arabic Editor of the IUS publication, the World Student News. He relieved another Iraqi, Ali Rmeil, who was thereafter to devote himself full time to work at IUS headquarters connected with the Arab countries.

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In October, 1957, it was announced that Ettayeb Aly Gidary, Sudanese Vice President of the IUS, had joined the headquarters staff of the IIS in Prague, where he was to concern himself chiefly with Middle Eastern and African student affairs. Just prior to assuming this post, Gidary made a tour of Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon, during which he discussed local and international student problems with student leaders.

In August, 1957, a 24-year old Sudanese, Mahmod Rahibar Gaffar, was elected First Vice President of the WPS.

Middle Eastern officers of the IIS are also being given positions of prominence in official IIS delegations to significant events.

Saeid Mohamed represented the IIS at a student press meeting sponsored by the anti-Communist world student organization, COMEC, in Finland in August, 1957. Muhsin Abdal Gaffar of the Sudan was a member of an IUS delegation to the USSR in the spring of 1957. In November of 1957, the Sudanese Gidary was included in the official three-man IIS delegation to the 40th Anniversary celebrations in Moscow. Mahmod Zaki of Iraq was a member of an eight-man IIS delegation to East Germany between 9 and 20 November 1957. In April 1958 Abu Gasim Saeid of the Sudan and Saeid Mohamed were members of an official IIS delegation visiting North Korea.

Sudharmati Choudhuri of India assumed the position of Chief Editor of the World Student News in November 1957 and became a Secretary of the IIS in 1957.

In January, 1958, Sankaran Narajander, also of India, became Chief Editor of the WFTU publication, World Truth. In August, 1957, he had been elected one of the seven WFTU secretaries at the WFTU Congress, to serve until August, 1959. Narajander was an official WFTU observer at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo in December, 1957.

Sandati Behak of Iran, for several years head of the Colonial Bureau of the IUS, represented that organization at Cairo, and has recently travelled extensively in the Near and Middle East.

In January, 1958, Saadri Mohamed reported to the IUS Executive Committee that Arab student representatives insisted on IUS materials being published in Arabic. An increase in such output is expected.

Organization of a Special IUS Project to Study Arab History

A special travel project designed to appeal to nationalist sentiment is being supported by the IUS. This tour, in which IUS affiliates throughout the world are to participate, is scheduled to go to Egypt in December, 1958, to study Egyptian ancient historical relics.

V. IUS Student Aid Projects

1. Chemistry Laboratory to the Sudan

A fully equipped chemistry laboratory valued at \$30,000 (U.S.) will be given to Khartoum University through the Khartoum University Student Union (IUS and COMECON-affiliated) by the East German IUS.

affiliate (FDJ). This amount was purportedly raised through "contributions and proceeds of voluntary work brigades." According to World Student News (WSN), No. 1 (January), 1958, "final arrangements for the transfer of the equipment were made in East Berlin by FDJ Student Section leaders and Mr. Abdal Mafid al-Dulai of the Guidance Union's Council, who brought with him the necessary data on space and installation possibilities and technical assistance which the Sudan can offer. FDJ was invited to send a team of four students and university assistants to facilitate the installation. They will probably remain in the Sudan for several months until this job is completed and the laboratory in full operation."

2. Both the IIS and WSYI called upon their national affiliates to observe 24 April, the anniversary of the Bandung Conference as "World Youth Day of Anti-Colonialism and for Peaceful Coexistence," by supporting an International Collection Campaign for the Youth of Algeria. Funds were raised at least in the Bloc countries through newspaper sales, art performances, labor contributions, etc. It is not known, however, if such funds have as yet been placed at the disposal of Algerian groups.

3. IIS Scholarships

According to IIS News Service No. 2-3, January-February, 1958, 65 IIS scholarships, which are distinct from Bloc government scholarships, are "valid for complete courses of undergraduate study in different subjects" in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany,

Poland, and the USSR. The 65 IIE scholarships were "awarded to students selected by student organizations and university authorities." Among the recipients were students from Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, and the Sudan, in many cases apparently refugees or exiles.

4. Student Sanatoria and Past Known

A limited number of tubercular students from the Middle East have been admitted for treatment to the IIE sanatoria in Peiping, and an IIE-supported health center in Calcutta is authorized not only to provide treatment locally, but also to select students from the whole South Asian area for treatment in Peiping.

V. Revolutionary Unity Program

The bulk of IIE efforts toward students in the Middle East area fall in this field. Two major programs are involved. One is connected with World Youth Festivals, the other is designed to stimulate, support and gain acceptance for Arab-African solidarity activities.

The Youth Festival Program

At the VIIIth Youth Festival in Moscow in the summer of 1957, a relatively large number of youth and students from the Middle East participated. There were, for example, some 650 from Egypt, 500 from Syria, and 325 from Lebanon, as well as smaller contingents from virtually all the other states in the area.

While the opportunity to travel abroad at minimum expense is obviously appealing to many, and is responsible for much of the general participation in these gatherings, Communist and Communist-Croat

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support of radical nationalist goals, particularly in the Arab World, plays a considerable role in attracting students and influencing some governments to permit or tolerate participation. Many governments in the Middle East, however, have tried to control and/or limit attendance at these festivals by denying or limiting passports, or influencing the composition, size, and attitude of the delegation in other ways. However, these measures in most instances have not prevented the front groups from obtaining at least some of their objectives. Students already abroad have attended these gatherings, and subterfuge, organized and supported by the fronts, such as travel to intermediate destinations abroad have been used by individuals determined to attend. By this means, the size of delegations has been substantially increased, or in some instances, self-constituted "delegations" formed. Only such measures as tight organization of a national delegation under reliable leadership or the addition of reliable observers to the group appear capable of preventing full exploitation by the front of its opportunities.

The Festival itself is not, however, the only occasion on which subversive efforts are directed at these delegations. Perhaps the most important work is that undertaken after the gathering has dispersed.

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Impressed with the necessity of strengthening ties with the organizations and public figures who took part in the preparation for the VIIth Festival, the USSR Executive Committee, and national affiliates have been urged to:

- a. Engage in conversations, meetings, discussions, exchange of visits.
- b. Publicize the event by interviews, newspaper articles, conferences, pamphlets, "report-back" meetings with specialized groups on special events (e.g., factory workers about pertinent trade meetings, etc.).
- c. Carrying out of agreements reached at the Festival between specialized organizations for future activities.
- d. Begin preparations for the VIIIth Festival.

On the last point, it is worth noting that preparations for the VIIIth Festival in 1959 are already well underway. This Festival is to be held in Vienna, Austria, beginning 26 July 1959. Possible alternate sites are Gdansk and Prague, in the event of organizational difficulties in staging the Festival in Vienna. The estimated participation ranges from 12,000 to 20,000 persons. An international preparatory committee convened in Stockholm 24-27 March 1958, and a permanent commission of the committee has been set up in Vienna to direct future preparatory work. The Stockholm meeting was attended by 130 participants from 54 countries (including representatives

of WPSU, IUS, WPS, World Union of Jewish Students, Federation of Black African Students in France, and Socialist DSA). A group of WPSU and IUS officials and headquarters' staff members attended and "observed" proceedings.

International Secretariat for Afro-Asian Student Solidarity

Both the IUS and the WPSU have reported frequently and extensively to their national affiliates throughout the world on the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo, and have declared their intention of supporting all initiatives aimed at strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity of young people and youth organizations. This support is to include study trips, scholarships, mutual assistance and provision of cultural, sport and other equipment to organizations in Africa and Asia. They have called upon national affiliates to support the projected Afro-Asian Students Conference scheduled to be held in Cairo in October, 1958. They have declared that this support will be given at the local, national, and regional level, and they have endorsed action by both uncommitted and even groups affiliated with COMECON.

On 9 November 1957 in Prague several hundred African and Asian resident students attended an IUS African solidarity meeting.

Jiri Palina, President of the IUS, visited the UAR at the invitation of the Egyptian Council for Youth Welfare and Sports for discussions concerning future cooperation with the IUS and urged participation in the next IUS Congress to be held in Peking in September, 1958.

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The IBS has also announced its support for an international seminar of students against illiteracy which is scheduled to be held in Rabat, Morocco, in December, 1958. This seminar was originally proposed by the Bulgarian Student IBS Secretary, Janakov, in September, 1957.

IBS Student Correspondents

Since May, 1956, the IBS publication, World Student News, has been endeavoring to set up a network of correspondents covering every university center in the world.

Readers were invited to apply and to contribute material to the Editorial Board in Prague, and special benefits were offered for those who became regular correspondents.

The only IBS correspondent in the Treaty Area identified so far is Rafiq al-Sharif of Syria.

The value of the information provided by such correspondents, both to the IBS in its unity appeals to local student groups and indirectly to the Soviet KGB intelligence organization, is obvious.